114 *Shilluk People* by Professor Diedrich Westermann,
121 who conducted linguistic research among the Shilluk in 1910, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr's *Die Schilluk*, largely based on the observations of Father Banholzer and other of his fellow Catholic missionaries, which date from the beginning of the century. Father Hofmayr himself worked among the Shilluk from 1906 to 1916. There has, indeed, long been a considerable body of knowledge about the Shilluk and I would not have considered it profitable to discuss the Shilluk kingship afresh were it not that new light has recently been shed on their social structure, and more particularly on the place of the kingship in it, by officers of the Sudan Political Service. It is significant that two of them studied anthropology before joining the Sudan Service, Mr P. P. Howell at Cambridge, from where he had carried out some research among the Shilluk before joining the Service, and Mr W. P. G. Thomson at Oxford. It is from this literature, and especially from the more recent accounts, that I have drawn the material for my lecture, for though the Shilluk live in a part of the world with which I am very familiar, my contact with them has been slight.

● 101 The Shilluk are the most northern of the Nilotic
175 peoples and have been for centuries in contact

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [175 101] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of 361 161 131

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

565 644 [613] attached themselves to the court—and have been given the fictional collectivity of exogamous lineages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince during his lifetime, and after his death their descendants continued to live near the prince's descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general category of commoners, *colo*, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

565 644 613 621 [101]

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I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔ́cʰɔ̄l̤*, "a Shilluk", plural *wɔ̱t̤ɛ́ cʰɔ̄l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *ɟɔ̱t̤ cʰɔ̄l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cʰɔ̄l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *ɔkɪ̄ɲ̤*, "descendants of *kɪ̄ɲ̤*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ɔcʰɔ̄l̤*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tʊ̄ɲ̤*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Masran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Masran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Belker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mʊ̄ŋ̤ɔ̱ɲ̤*, *Tʊ̄ɲ̤*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beraheba.

131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended farther northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Dueim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a trait of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwɔ rit* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way; "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chōlo* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

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the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bonj, Nuer fonj and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "fungo", and the plural "fungi". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* o being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and i that of the plural. The meaning of the word "fungo" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Ptoemphanae of the ancients, and morever compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.)

The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smelting and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Fung, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, Jebels Gereiwa and Rera; on the east, Jebel Agadi and the Fazogli district. Southwards, it extends to the Abyssinian frontier, and including the district of Keili and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Fung were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of Abyssinia, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Funj must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. Sir James Bruce, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts *the identity of the Shilluks and Funj.* In his Travels into Abyssinia he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wed Ageeb, the

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174 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole
101 Gezira. *"This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook"*.[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" . . . . but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to
[114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his misdoings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shilluks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tegla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar began in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Fung, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Fung tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name

[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

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of Fung. King Baadi Abu Dign, who reigned from 1635—1671, *attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves.* The Shilluks at that time inhabited the country on both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa. Thence he invaded the mountains of Tagale and destroyed Kordofan, where he again took a large number of slaves. On his return to Sennar he built a number of villages in that district for his prisoners. The prisoners named these villages after those they had left, hence the number of villages now near Sennar with names similar tho those in Jebel Nuba, Tagale, and other districts about Kordofan. In time these slaves supplied the kings of Fung with recruits for their armies. — In 1719 a king whose name was *Gaadi Abu Shilluk* ascended the throne.

In the first half of the 18th century the Fungs drove the Darfurians back, which had at that time dominion over the country east of the White Nile as far as the Atbara; the Fungs then again established their own authority on the banks of the White Nile. In 1770 they even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr el Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile, under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fungs were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region.

According to Cailliaud, a French writer, who was in Sennar about 1820, the "Foungi" came from the Sudan, crossed the White Nile and arrived at "Arbaguy" (= Herbagi of Bruce); here a great battle was delivered, in which the Funj were victorious, so that they became lords of the country; "they gave their name to a part of the Sennar kingdom in the Bouroum (= Burun) country, called also Jebel Fungi, *where the soldiers of the mek live*".

R. Hartmann, who visited the country in 1859/60, is of the opinion that the original home of the Funj is in Sennar. "They recruited their (black) soldiers from their military colonies, which were situated at the foot of the Sennar hills, and from Kordofan Nubas." "Between 1499 and 1530 the christian state of Alos (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and *whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks*". "*The Shilluks are relatives of the Funj,* whose intimate allies they were during the conquest of Sennar in the 16th century."

Cailliaud and the A. E. S. as well as Bruce give a list of the Funj kings, which, though differing in several items, is on the whole consistent. Bruce fixes the beginning of the dynasty in the year 1504, Cailliaud in 1484, and A. E. S. in 1493.

Leaving the question of the provenience of the Funj alone, the following can

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be regarded as sure: 1. The kingdom of Funj was founded in the beginning of the 16th, or at the end of the 15th century. 2. the political influence of the Funj extended at times westward beyond the White Nile, as far as Darfur and Kordofan; consequently the Shilluks must also have been under the dominion of the Funj, as their country is situated on the way to Kordofan. 3. All writers confirm that the Funj have repeatedly transplanted great numbers of Shilluk and Kordofan prisoners into the Funj country, where they were settled, formed large colonies of their own, and finally submerged in the "Funj" nation. It was these large numbers of new settlers who formed the bulk of the Funj armies and enabled them to carry on their great conquests. 4. But it is not at all improbable that portions of the Shilluk people should have emigrated into Sennar of their own will; the coincidence of the arrival of the Shilluks in the White Nile region and the foundation of the Funj kingdom is remarkable; both events took place about the beginning of the 16th century; at that time the Shilluks inhabited *both* shores of the White Nile as far north as Kawa; consequently they lived in close contact with the people of Sennar, and it seems not unlikely that parts of them should have pushed forward into Sennar, the more so as they had only just arrived in the country and were not yet finally settled; such an emigration would also explain their now being limited to a relatively small district compared with the former much larger size of the Shilluk country. 5. The Shilluks themselves tell in their traditions of repeated and severe fights against the people of Sennar; they call the place where these wars were fought, Chai, and say it is close to Roseires on the Blue Nile, that is *east* of Jebel Gule, where the old capital of the Funj was situated. 6. Cailliaud in his book "Voyage à Méroé, names 50 villages beginning in *Fa*, in the Bertat and Faseql country on both sides of the Blue Nile; as shown above, *Fa* is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, being an abbreviation of *fa*, *pa* "village". It seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shillluks who emigrated into these regions. 7. The Shilluks living in Sennar called the aboriginal inhabitants "*bwoé* or *fwoé*" (= Fonj, Funj) that is "strangers", just as to-day they call every one who is not a Shilluk: *bwoé* (= *bwonj*), and finally this became the name of the "Funj nation". 8. It is possible that this Shilluk population in Sennar came to political influence and took part in the government of the state. This becomes even highly probable by a very curious remark of Bruce; where he translates the name Fungi by "free citizen" he continues: "Methinks they should not boast of the title "free citizen", because the first name of nobility in this country is that of 'slave', indeed they have no other title except this. If a man in Sennar feels himself not sufficiently respected, he will ask at once: 'Do you not know who I am? Do you not know I am a

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174 slave?" Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?" All titles and 101 offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

[197] [192]

Funj.	Shilluk.
bunj Arab	*bwoń* stranger, Arab
ibibia ant	*bī* white ant
kamas to eat	*chāmo* to eat
ńani hippo	*ńań* crocodile
lei giraffe	*lqi* game
jok God	*jwgk* God
kglu star	*kyglo* star
mine dumb	*mjn* dumb
kaj au to-day	*kach au* this time
ko-eong spear	*tgń* spear
luis stick	*log, log* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has *not* in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hameg (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hameg continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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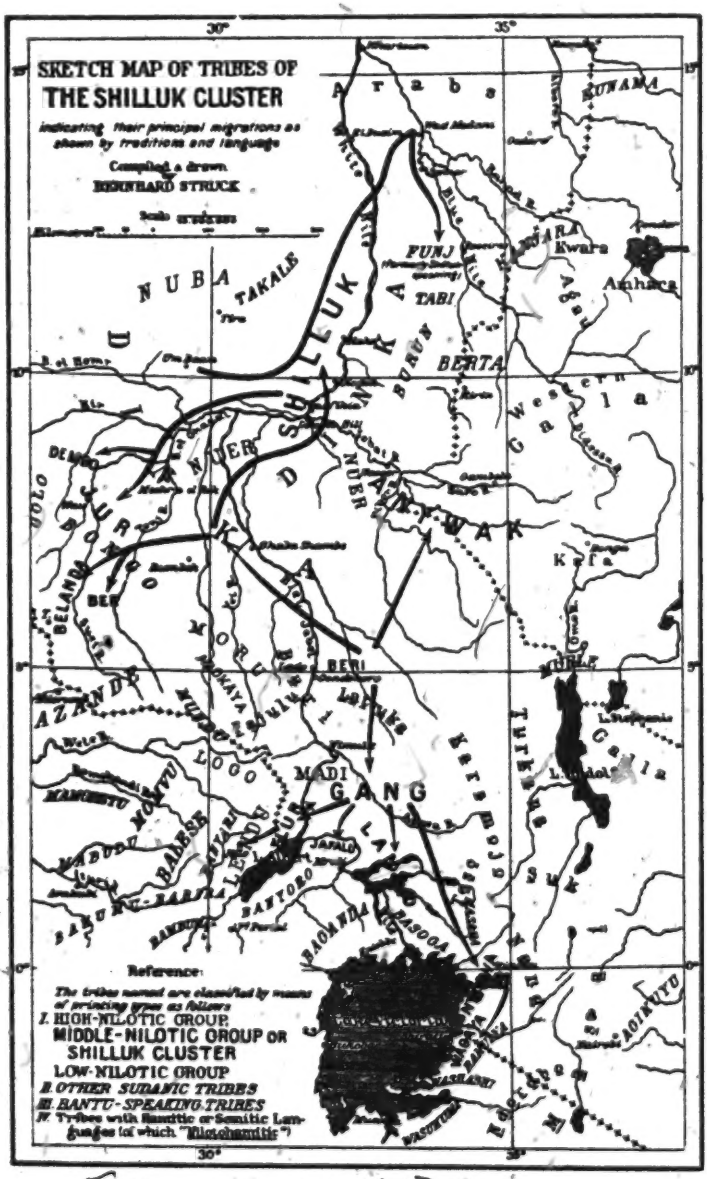

[Following p. LXIV (B)]

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S. kwani to count, read
E. *χlṭ* to count, read
T. *kan* / *kane* to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara, karaṅ* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwɛŋɛ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Ňr. *kwɛn* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nɲú, nɲua to lick, suck
E. *ɖó* to lick, suck
ɖúɖó to lick
Y. *adun* / *adɔn* taste
Nu. *duge* / *dach* to lick
Shi. *ɖōɖɛ* to suck, lick
Shi. *ɖwōɖɛ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagi to divide
E. *afā* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afā* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pɔ̄ɲɛ* to divide

S. pwy to beat
E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwōdɛ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tiagi to be hard
E. *sẓ* to be hard, strong
Di. *chɛk* to be hard
Shi. *tẓk* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *tẓk* to be hard
Any. *tẓk* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tji hand
E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyɛnɛ* hand
Ju. *shyɛno* hand
Any. *shyɛnɛ* hand

S. tji to bear a child; wife
E. *ashi* wife
Ku. *shi* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash, ashi* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chi* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Ócɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chɔ̀l*, or *wate Chɔ̀l* "children of *Chɔl*"; their country: *fɔ̀tɛ̀ chɔ̀l*; their language: *ɖɛ̀ chɔ̀l*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bɛr*, by the Nuers: *Tẓt*.

The *Anywaks* call themselves: *Aŋwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálāk*, by the Dinkas: *Pálāk*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jāŋe*; they are called by the Shilluks: *ójɔ̄ɲɔ̀* pl. *jɔ̄ɲì*; by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánāṭ* a Nuer man, pl. *Kɛgānāṭ*; their language: *ṭɛk Nāṭ*; they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuɛr*, by the Dinkas: *Núɛr*; by the Arabs: *Nuɛr* or *Nawār*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Luɔ or Luɔ, by the Shilluks they are called Odimɔ, "descendants of Dimɔ", by the Bongo: *Bɛr*. The Belanda call them-

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuago*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *Juok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80, 000 Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurwa, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alol, Achaj (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Kyingar, (near Lul) Fadit (near eastern Aba), Melo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Oped-Batu (eastern bank), Pamath, Tharujok, Kwogo, Fokan, Kyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar und Kyijoh.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"A"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lauk (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out[1] 'if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *padh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *padh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *padh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *padh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *cieng* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *padh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka).

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyoreth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part I & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

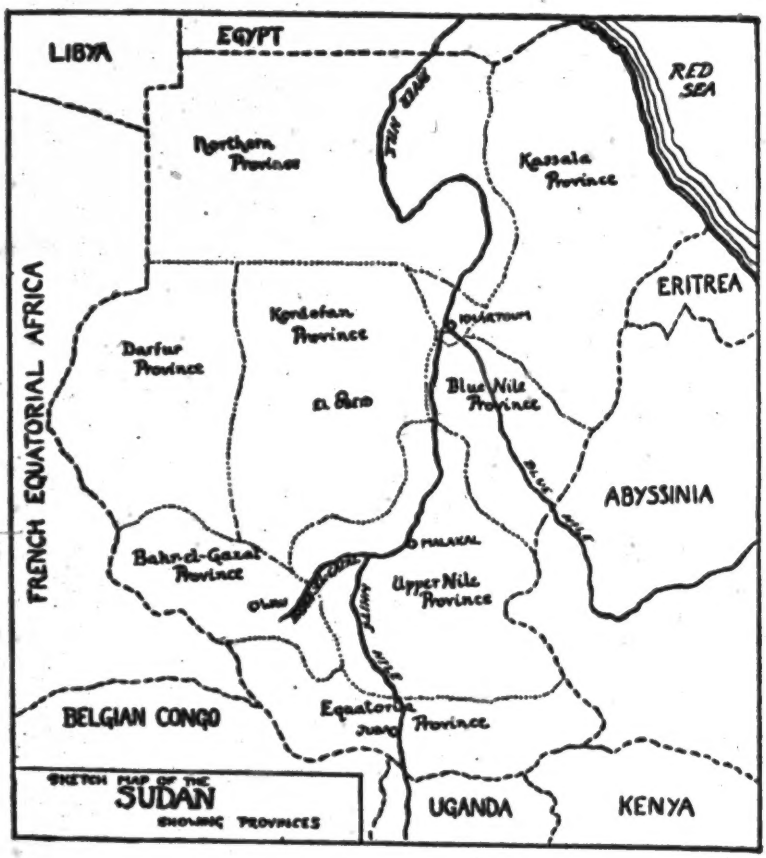
(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



This was made on the paddle steamer which wanders along the river between Khartoum in the north and Juba in the south, accepting and delivering mail and cargo at the trading posts and mission stations established on the Nile banks. The good ship *Rejaf* was more of a convoy than a single vessel, for she pushed and pulled along with her seven barges for passengers and cargo. First-class passengers were accommodated on the steamer itself; intermediate second-class passengers were carried on a house-boat-like barge alongside; in front went three barges conveying

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls [565] also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled [142] by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beautifully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648